1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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*Specialization and Trade*

439 Among the more distinctive features of upper Xingú culture are community craft specialization and a widespread system of trade relationships. The Trumaí traded among themselves, but the most important exchanges took place on the intertribal level, and it is here that the products of tribal specialization become significant to the economy. At the time of Quain's investigations, the Arawakans maintained a monopoly on pottery, but the once active Trumaí stone axe manufacture had fallen into disuse. In its place, the Trumaí were specializing in the preparation of salt, obtained by burning a species of water-lily and sifting the ashes. The Trumaí depended on the Kamayurá for a highly prized type of bow, as the proper wood was not found in their territory. According to Oberg, this black, rectangular bow was eagerly sought by other tribes, also.[20]

While the Kamayurá monopoly on these bows can be explained by the local availability of the raw materials, craft specialization cannot be looked upon simply as a function of the exclusive possession of certain skills. Other arts diffused rapidly among the tribes, and it is evident that the specialties remained such for non-economic reasons. For example, the three Arawakan tribes, the Mehinaku, Kustenaú and Waurá, all made pottery, but each traded their wares only with certain tribes. The Bacairí obtained their pottery from the Kustenaú, who were, in von den Steinen's time, their neighbors on the Batoví River. On the Kuliseú, the Nahukwa traded for ceramics with the nearby Mehinaku, while the Tupian-speaking tribes and the Trumaí relied on the Waurá. Despite the fact that each Arawakan tribe dealt with its nearest neighbors, the exclusiveness of these relationships is not a physical necessity. The Trumaí could have obtained Mehinaku pottery. They had many kinship ties with the Mehinaku, and even conducted joint puberty rites. The distance between them was not great. Manifestly some standardized channeling of trade relationships existed.

This is further confirmed by the confinement of pottery manufacture to the Arawakans. It is probable that when the various groups first settled in the area, the Arawakans were the only ceramicists. With the development of close intertribal relationships, however, there was every opportunity for the craft to diffuse. It could have been learned by outsiders in trips to Arawakan villages and then practiced at home, as the clay is easily gotten from the river bottoms. Obvious means for its diffusion were marriage or capture of Arawakan women. But the manufacture of pottery was not observed by Quain in any non-Arawakan village of the area, despite the fact that Arawakan women were living in many such communities. In the Trumaí village no pottery was made,

[20] Oberg 1953, p. 30.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The woof was made of cotton threads. The men's hammocks were usually woven, while those made by the women for themselves were generally an inferior twined product. Other manufactures of cotton were arm and leg bands.

### *Ceramics*

The knowledge of ceramic manufacture cannot be properly considered a part of Trumaí culture, despite their daily use of pottery in cooking, manioc processing, eating and storage. All pottery utensils were obtained in trade with the Arawakan Waurá, usually in return for salt. The only clay article of Trumaí manufacture was the *ja'meo*, a crude clay griddle on which the *beijú* was baked. The Trumaí did not rely completely on pottery for watertight containers, as gourds, grown in their own gardens, were extensively used.

### *Wood Manufactures*

All woodwork was done by the men with, at the time of Quain's visit, steel tools. The most distinctive article was the zoomorphically carved wooden stool, found among all upper Xingú peoples. Quain's notes contain a sketch of one such stool which is very similar to the one depicted by von den Steinen.[8] Other wood products were canoe paddles, *beijú* paddles, manioc graters, and mortars and pestles, used by the women to pulverize the hard, dry balls of manioc flour.

### *Weapons*

Bows and arrows were used almost to the exclusion of other weapons. The Trumaí got their bows in trade from the Kamayurá, but made the bowstrings themselves from the fiber of a tree known to them as the *paiacy*. They made their own feathered arrows out of cane, at the end of which was inserted a thin wooden shaft. The points were fixed to the shaft with a tree resin (*aualitsu*) and were wrapped at the juncture with cotton thread. Monkey bone points were used for shooting fish and birds. One man who was making a bamboo point told Quain that it was used for hunting and warfare. Another was seen hammering an arrow point out of a piece of metal.

Spears were not used often, although the Trumaí made them. Quain saw a spear point being made of the shin bone of a tapir. The spear-thrower (*zopep*) was used only in the annual spear-throwing contest. It was made from the wood of a palm. Quain sketched one that had a flat handle with a finger hole and a shaft with a hook on the end, and another that lacked the hook, but had a thong on the end.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 141.